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At a meeting in November 1966, sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies, members of public and private organizations were briefed on the state of linguistics and what it has to offer other disciplines: (1) its basic unity despite organizational diversity; (2) its breadth, as the science of verbal structure, and how it relates to all other disciplines; (3) how the prospects for linguistic contributions have developed from past accomplishments. William Moulton described development of the Linguistic Society of America, the Committee on Language Programs of the ACLS, and the Center for Applied Linguistics. He pointed out the contributions and growth of various professional journals, Summer Institutes, institutions giving advanced degrees, and local clubs. Noam Chomsky discussed recurrent themes in linguistics, relationship with other disciplines, and the synthesis of rational grammar with structural linguistics. Einar Haugen reviewed international developments, the establishment of the Linguistic Society of Europe, the prominence of American linguistics since World War II, the quinquennial congresses and the Linguistic Bibliography guided by UNESCO's Permanent International Committee of Linguists. Charles Ferguson reported on the expansion of Applied Linguistics from second language teaching to include computational linguistics, machine translation, and many other areas. (MK)

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TO NAR EDITORS

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THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

is a federation of national organizations concerned with the humanities — the languages and literature, philosophies and religions, history and the arts, and the associated techniques — and the humanistic elements in the social sciences. It was organized in 1919 and incorporated in the District of Columbia in 1924.

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LINGUISTICS HERE AND NOW

THOMAS A. SEBEOK

Thomas A. Sebeok, a member of the Indiana University faculty, is Professor both of Linguistics and of Uralic and Altaic Studies; for the past eleven years, he has served as Chairman of the Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics. During the current academic year he is a Senior Post-Doctoral Fellow of the National Science Foundation (with tenure in the Department of Anthropology and the Institute of Human Learning of the University of California, Berkeley, and the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences).

On November 15, 1966, the American Council of Learned Societies sponsored a meeting which brought together interested persons from public and private organizations to participate with a group of linguists in a scholarly briefing intended to explain, in historical perspective, the present state of linguistics and its prospects over the years ahead. The linguists represented each of the three interlocking and mutually supportive national organizations which through multiple channels speak in unison for our profession in the United States: the Linguistic Society of America (1924), the ACLS Committee on Language Programs (1941), and the Center for Applied Linguistics (1959).[1]

Linguists, by virtue of their training, are often predisposed to operate in the framework of a model developed by a great Swiss predecessor, Ferdinand de Saussure, who was the first to insist on the distinction between a diachronic and a synchronic approach in the scientific study of verbal signs. Perhaps it was the constraint of this pervasive tradition that suggested to the planners of the program to devote the morning session mainly to the topic of "Continuity in Linguistics," and the afternoon session to "Linguistics as a Discipline" today, in this country and throughout the world, and in its relationship to sister fields among the humanities and in the behavioral and other sciences, as well as in application to a wide range of contemporary concerns (e.g., medicine, or national development).

After ACLS President Frederick Burkhardt's gracious welcoming remarks, William G. Moulton told the participants how this meeting had come about and why the time seemed opportune for holding it now. He named the major organizations of linguists represented at the meeting and reminisced about their development, recalling that linguistics was not even organized as a discipline prior to 1924, and that it was not until after World War II that it began to make headway in American academic life. In his younger days the meetings of the Linguistic Society were small and intimate, now they had become large and relatively more formal. Moulton pointed with pride, tinged with alarm, at the dramatic increase in the number of linguists, that began to spiral upwards in the mid-1950's, with no plateau in sight, and that is graphically reflected in the Linguistic Society's growth in membership.

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In a necessarily compressed fashion, but with the lucidity and persuasiveness characteristic of all his work, Noam Chomsky then set forth those persistent themes characterizing the linguistic thought of the past centuries that seem remarkably alive today, and sketched the shapes these recurrent themes assumed at their various stages of development; he also indicated their relationships to other fields of endeavor, notably psychology and philosophy. In the post-Renaissance period, Chomsky identified two principal traditions: that of general, "rational" grammar, and that known to us by the label "structural linguistics." He argued that these two approaches have moved, over the past ten years, toward a higher synthesis with the consequent illumination of some of the profoundest problems of the human mind and toward a clarification of some of the most deeply rooted issues centering upon the essential nature of man. He stressed his belief that the recent fusion of these two traditions set the stage for exciting new advances not only within the language sciences as such but, more broadly, in all of the behavioral sciences. The climate of opinion in the 17th century—the ferment which gave rise to modern science—was marked by a major concern for the creative aspects of language use involving notions of novelty, freedom from stimulus control, and problems of the appropriateness of speech to the situation in which it is delivered. Early Romantic literary theory and philosophy were also concerned, as we are today, with man's uniqueness, his creativity, and his political and social freedom, and with the question whether it is possible to simulate his behavior with automata. Contemporary theory of grammar is explicitly, as it was then implicitly, envisaged as a system of rules relating sound with meaning for a potentially infinite domain—the idea of generation—and all of its subsystems (phonology, syntax, semantics) are, and were, studied in respect both to universal grammar as well as to particular instances thereof. Basic ideas of syntax, of surface structures and deep structures, and of the transformations that map the latter onto the former, as these notions emerged over the past several centuries, provide a framework for the study of the active processes of perception or, more generally, of the ways in which the mind acquires knowledge.

Turning to the 19th century origins of structural linguistics—but skipping over, for lack of time, the setting in which comparative grammar, one of the most substantial and solid achievements of 19th century scholarship, flourished—Chomsky delineated its contributions of enduring value: structural linguistics extended enormously the scope of linguistic information and its reliability; it provided a theory (particularly associated with the name of Roman Jakobson) of sound structure, implying a theory of universal features, that is still significantly ahead of any previous attempt; it made possible the study of language in an abstract way, as a system of intrinsic relations, that is, as a mathematical object; it made it possible to treat in a much more precise manner than theretofore the ways whereby data turn into knowledge or become a grammar. In Chomsky's opinion, perhaps the greatest accomplishment of

the structural linguists was that they asked the right sorts of questions, as he illustrated from Zellig Harris' *Methods in Structural Linguistics;* but he also pointed out that they often, and in important specific areas, gave the wrong answers.

Viewing the future of linguistics with optimism, Chomsky felt that the wedding of the two lines of intellectual development he had sketched would raise the inquiry to a wholly new level of sophistication where both data and issues will appear in far sharper relief. Their intersection will result in the preparation of (1) more precise particular grammars, and (2) more precise universal grammars. The focus of the former can profitably be directed, for instance, to the study of performance, namely, the question how such grammars are used in the production and understanding of sentences, which is an exactly articulated version of a more general problem in psychology: how is knowledge used in performance, how does it affect sensory processes? Precise universal grammars imply the use of mathematical models and such questions as these: how is such a general schema utilized in language acquisition—again an instance of a wider problem in psychology, of how innate schematism is employed for the acquisition of knowledge; and how does it come about that natural languages meet just the existing conditions that govern the principles of grammatical organization—a classical problem of biology.

After Chomsky's presentation had been discussed from the floor, Moulton resumed his exposition of linguistics as an academic discipline in the United States. He noted the existence of numerous local clubs supplementing the activities of the three national organizations, the LSA, the CLP, and the CAL, previously mentioned, and called special attention to the remarkable work of the Wycliffe Bible Translators through their Summer Institute of Linguistics in its global ramifications. He enumerated the principal journals and other serial publications in the field, and informed the group that some forty-five American institutions are currently offering a Ph.D. in Linguistics. He stressed the paramount importance that Linguistic Institutes have played in the establishment of our discipline in the dozen or more major universities that have cooperated with the Society, and throughout the nation. Only lack of time prevented Moulton from tracing the impact of modern linguistics upon associated fields, such as literary studies (notably, in metrics and stylistics), including philology; the history of ideas; anthropology and sociology; computer research (especially the storage and retrieval of information, and machine translation); acoustic and other kinds of phonetics; biology (for example, the study of animal communication systems); and, of course, psychology, philosophy, and mathematics, already touched upon by Chomsky.

After the luncheon recess Einar Haugen followed up Moulton's theme by giving an account of the impressive international involvements of American linguists, particularly since World War II, which proved "to have been a major milestone in the development of American linguistics from national isolation to international participation." He emphasized

the maturity that American linguistics had reached in the generation after the founding of the LSA, which had changed "the meaning of 'American Linguistics' from a linguistics about American Indians to one produced by American linguists."

"Before 1924 American linguistics was largely receptive, since that time largely productive. After a period of relative isolation in the 1930's, it was recalled to its international perspectives by World War II and its aftermath of increased world involvement," Haugen observed, and documented his remarks by references to various European schools of linguistic thought, eminent representatives of which have migrated to America. "As a result," he added, "the doctrines of American linguistics were greatly broadened, to the point where it is no longer possible to say that there is only one theoretical view of language, or one way of approaching the application of linguistic theory to teaching and other practical problems. American linguistics has absorbed the best of world linguistics and thanks to the hard work and originality of many of its practitioners has been able to win leadership in the field."

Haugen explained the role of the quinquennial international congresses, the ninth of which was held here in 1962, under the joint sponsorship of Harvard University and M.I.T. (The tenth will take place in Bucharest this year.) These congresses are the responsibility of UNESCO's Permanent International Committee of Linguists, of which Haugen is president, and the secretariat for which is located in Holland, under Christine Mohrmann's vigorous administrative leadership. The Committee also supervises the publication of the *Linguistic Bibliography*, of which 19 annual volumes have appeared so far. There has also been significant American participation in other world congresses, notably the International Congress of Dialectology (the second was held in Germany, in 1965) and the International Congresses of Phonetic Sciences (the fifth of which will be held in Czechoslovakia, in 1967). One especially noteworthy event Haugen mentioned was the creation, in 1966, of a Linguistic Society of Europe, closely modelled on our LSA; the initiative for this had come from Werner Winter, of the University of Kiel, "a returnee to his native land who had been inspired by the American example during his years of sojourn in the United States." Following the example of the LSA, linguistic institutes have sprung up in Canada (annually, since 1958), Europe (viz., Bescançon in 1965, Grenoble in 1966), India (first in Poona, in 1954), and Latin America (viz., Montevideo in 1966, Mexico City, scheduled for 1968). Haugen, of course, merely hinted at some of the lines along which fruitful work has been done, concluding that "anyone can see that there is still much more that could be done."

Applied linguistics was a major concern of many members of the audience, and this is the topic Charles Ferguson concretely dealt with from his vast fund of experience as the CAL's Director over the past seven years. The boundaries and exact definition of applied linguistics seem elastic. Thus in the Soviet Union, according to Ferguson, this term encompasses

computational linguistics and machine-aided translation; in the U.S.A., on the other hand, it is often simply equated with language teaching. In his own view, however, there is reason to include a variety of other fields of application, for instance, to medicine. In any case, Ferguson argued that the supposed dichotomy between theoretical and applied linguistics is not only misleading but false, because these two foci of emphasis inevitably feed one upon the other; on the contrary he desired to emphasize the usefulness of teamwork among the linguists and representatives of a host of other disciplines on all levels of possible interaction. Ferguson concluded his presentation by reporting briefly on a number of on-going cooperative research projects. He grouped these into three areas: (1) those concerned with language problems of the developing nations—problems of multilingualism, including efforts to standardize one form of speech among diverse vernaculars, of literacy, and the like, and illustrated these from case studies relating to Peru, the Philippines, India, and Kenya; (2) those concerned with language problems in this country—for example, among the Cherokee Indians of Oklahoma, our Spanish American population, or relating to the substandard speech of Negroes from a low socio-economic stratum, particularly as this is being intensively and imaginatively investigated in the District of Columbia[2]; and (3) those involving the teaching of foreign languages and of English as a second language, where he pleaded for a reduction of the amateurishness pervading some such efforts and stressed once again the importance of theoretical researches. The success of applied linguistics will depend, he said, on the degree to which its practitioners would gain respectability in the eyes of theory-minded colleagues and the public.

In convening this meeting, those responsible for its planning and execution had three objectives in view. First, we wished to underline our essential unity in the face of apparent organizational diversity, and to demonstrate the international solidarity of linguists, all of whom are striving towards identical goals. Second, we tried to picture linguistics as the pansemiotic science of verbal structure, the study of the word—man's unique species-specific biological endowment—in time, in space, and in its relations with the rest of the world. Last, we wanted to convey our conviction of the historical continuity of our discipline and our feeling that the perspectives that were opened up as a consequence of past accomplishments have brought us to a juncture where the future of linguistics shines brighter than ever with the promise of significant and intellectually exciting discovery.

FOOTNOTES

1 The following federal agencies sent one or more representatives: Department of Defense (Defense Language Institute); Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Office of Education, Divisions of Foreign Studies and of Higher Education Research); Department of the Interior (Bureau of Indian Affairs); Department of State (Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Foreign Service Institute, and the USIA's Information Centers Service); National Endowment for the Humanities; Central In-

telligence Agency; National Security Agency; National Science Foundation (Program for Anthropology, Special Projects); Peace Corps; and Smithsonian Institution.

The following private organizations were represented: American Council of Learned Societies; Center for Applied Linguistics; Danforth Foundation; Education and World Affairs; Educational Services, Inc.; Ford Foundation; Guggenheim Foundation; C. F. Kettering Foundation; Linguistic Society of America; New York University; Rockefeller Foundation; Social Science Research Council; and U.S. Steel Foundation.

The *ad hoc* committee of linguists responsible for organizing this meeting consisted of William G. Moulton (Princeton University), Chairman, and J Milton Cowan (Cornell University), Charles A. Ferguson (Stanford University), Einar Haugen (Harvard University), Archibald A. Hill (University of Texas), Herbert H. Paper (University of Michigan), Thomas A. Sebeok (Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences and Indiana University), Robert P. Stockwell (University of California, Los Angeles), and W. Freeman Twaddell (Brown University). Cowan and Twaddell were unfortunately unable to participate. In addition, Noam Chomsky (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and University of California, Berkeley) and Henry M. Hoenigswald (University of Pennsylvania) participated.

The Linguistic Society of America, an ACLS constituent society, publishes *Language*, a quarterly journal with occasional supplements; holds two annual meetings; and sponsors the annual Linguistic Institute. For the "History of the Linguistic Institute," see the article by Archibald A. Hill, in the ACLS *Newsletter*, Vol. XV, No. 3, pp. 1-12 (1964). Since the appearance of this "History," Linguistic Institutes have been held at Indiana University (1964), the University of Michigan (1965), and UCLA (1966); future sessions are scheduled at Michigan (1967) and the University of Illinois (1968 and 1969).

The ACLS Committee on Language Programs originally came into being to administer the wartime Intensive Language Program; later it conducted the Program in Oriental Languages and a program of English for Foreigners. In addition, the ACLS has for many years assisted all Linguistic Institutes and administered the award of fellowships.

The Center for Applied Linguistics, among its numerous functions, serves as an informal clearinghouse between the profession and a maze of U.S. federal agencies, and as one vital channel for the many international projects in which linguists are involved. Much of its work is carried out by committees, such as the Committee on Linguistic Information. It is also a coordinating body for research and instruction, particularly in English as a second language and in the "uncommonly" taught languages, an area in which it also constitutes the outlet for the Educational Research Information Center of the U.S. Office of Education. Its far-flung activities are reflected and documented by its principal serial publication, *The Linguistic Reporter*. The Center has also served as a model in the formation of foreign associations with parallel interests, among other locations, in London, Paris, Rome, Dakar, and Sao Paulo.

2 Cf. J. L. Dillard, "The Urban Language Study of the Center for Applied Linguistics," *The Linguistic Reporter*, Vol. 8, No. 5, pp. 1-2 (1966).